

AZANIA WOMAN

July 1985

BORN 20
NOVEMBER
1949



KILLED 10
MARCH
1985

COMRADE BONISWA NCUKANA

HE DIED FOR ALL AZANIAN WOMEN

ANNA W. W. W.

1885

ALLIED
1885



1885

ANNA W. W. W.

ANNA W. W. W.

EDITORIAL OPINION.

BONISWA NCUKANA, THE WOMAN WITH A DISTINCTION

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"A woman was never made to rule over a man, otherwise she could have been created out of Adam's head, neither was she made to be his slave, she could have been created out of his feet; she was taken from his side so that she may be his helpmate and equal to him". It is for this above stated truism that Comrade Boniswa Ncukana died at Qacha's Nek alongside her 5 male comrades. And we, the P.A.C. and Azanian women, are extremely proud of her.

Comrade Boniswa Ncukana was born on the 12 November 1949, at Centane, in the Bantustan of Transkei, South Africa. She comes from a rich family. Her father, Gwebumzi Govan Ncukana, a teacher by profession, was the first African in Centane to own a trading store, a butchery and also to own a car. Because of this, G.G., as he is popularly known in that area, was the most hated man by the whites of that region as they thought that he would make Africanis of that area think they are equal to whites. This appeared, at the beginning to be tantamount to sabotage and treason. His home was being searched by the Boer police nearly every month. Had Mr. G.G. Ncukana been another man, he could have abandoned his businesses. But Gwebumzi was a man with a lion's heart. The more he was harassed the more cheeky he became. He carried on until the Boers saw themselves to be behaving like fools. The businesses are still there flourishing up to this day. It is, therefore, under this atmosphere that our fallen Boniswa grew. She is the product of her environment. Added to this Boniswa grew in a district that is contaminated by radical politics. It is at Centane, at Gobe and Macibe locations that one of the bitterest Xhosa wars, the War of Ngcayichibi, was fought between the British and the Gcalekas in 1877. Boniswa's forefathers fought and fell in that war. It is, therefore, no wonder that she also decided to devote and dedicate her life to the noblest cause in the whole universe, the liberation of the Azanian people and Mankind.

We said at the beginning that Boniswa comes from a rich family. As an educated woman and a woman from a rich family she had everything. But despite all that she decided to leave everything and join, pell-mell, a

sea of politics and revolution. It was in June 1967 that she made a heroic decision of joining the P.A.C. underground movement inside occupied Azania. From then she never looked back. Patriotism and the love for her country were burning her heart. She used to say, **"I want to be a woman soldier, I want to carry a gun"**. In the early 70's she went to East London where she got a responsible job in the laboratory of a sweets factory called Wilsons Rowntree. Fortunately in East London she fell in good hands of other P.A.C. activists like Zolile Hamilton Keke who had been at Robben Island before for ten years. This association between she and Zolile Keke made the Boer Security Police in that area to be very suspicious. They were convinced that she was being used as a courier. In July 1980 the East London Security Police decided to strike, they searched her house at Mdantsane Township. The Boer Security Police confiscated a book with Speeches of President Julius Nyerere, P.A.C. Basic Documents and a book by Collin Legum on Pan Africanism. The Police got what they wanted. She was taken to the notorious Cambridge Police Station where she was brutally interrogated and tortured for 14 consecutive days. Boniswa refused to talk, she refused to sell the cause of P.A.C., the cause for which the Azanian people stand. The police who interrogated her those 14 days still respect her. Boniswa was a tough woman, she was not destined to crack. The Boer Police decided to transfer her to the Transkei Puppet Security Police and she was kept at the Idutywa jail in solitary confinement for 90 days. She was released from detention at the end of October 1980. Boniswa started from where she left. She immediately joined the trade union movement, however, in the middle of 1983 she decided to leave her Motherland to join the external wing of the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania. She got a refugee status in the Kingdom of Lesotho and P.A.C. immediately appointed her as Labour Liaison Officer. She died with 5 male comrades on the 10 March 1985 at Qacha's Nek. She became the first African woman in the history of our revolution to die on the borders of her own country, Azania. In a telex message read during her funeral service, the Chief Coordinator of the P.A.C. Women, Comrade Maud Jackson said that the death of Boniswa Ncukana proved that a revolution is not the monopoly of men. She said that the P.A.C. women will forge ahead with the revolution. **REST IN PEACE BONISWA, YOUR BLOOD HAS NOT BEEN SHED IN VAIN.**
Long live the women of Azania!
Long live P.A.C.!
The Struggle Continues!

AFRICAN SOCIETY AND WOMEN

By: Christine Doubts Qunta

In certain ways, African women have preserved a measure of identity and authority which women in the more industrialised capitalist societies have lost. This we find in societies such as in the Cape, that African women do not lose or change their clan names when they marry, they remain Mambhele or MamCira even when they become Mrs. Mlambo or Mrs. Ginya. In many other African societies they are able to own or inherit property and of course our struggles are full of names of illustrious leaders such as Mmantatise, who led the Batookwa during the Mfecane, such as Nehanda who led the anti-colonial resistance in Zimbabwe in the 1890's. These were military strategists the equivalence of whom Europe never produced amongst its women. Other leaders of national resistance have emerged since then, and while we salute the brave figures such as Mrs. Matomela of the Port Elizabeth branch of the A.N.C. (1950's) and Sibongile Mthembu of the S.S.R.C. (1976) we are not going to be conditioned by the enemy press into worshipping women who are always on the front-page of the Johannesburg Star or the Weekend World because every single black woman who gives up the night-clubs, the fashion shops and the schools or job, every black woman who faces the police, who carries or hides guns for the liberation movement, who leaves her home or goes to prison is a hero. We must emblazon these women in the pages of writing and the hearts of our people, they must never be forgotten.

Burdens and obstacles on women's contribution

Because of the contempt which the enemy has for women they make excellent couriers, intelligence and sometimes combat cadres. Those who do not fulfil these tasks can feed, clothe and accommodate freedom fighters in the combat areas, they can also educate children and politicise other women and men. The participation of women in these tasks is limited by various factors. While the industrial revolution has done away with most of the need for separate work for men and women, prejudice still causes people to think a highly paid job at the harbour, where a person only

presses a button to move a huge load is "a man's job". This is part of a dying culture. Unfortunately, its death is so slow that it continues to confine women to jobs which are boring, low paid and which dulls the brain. These include tracing, typing and housework. Lenin advocates the collectivisation of a large scale of tasks such as child minding, food preparation etc. Since we are not in a position to fulfil these tasks now, then we might share them, in conjunction with the male comrades. The decolonisation of the mind of the African woman must be carried out in conjunction with the decolonisation of the minds of the men. If men in the liberation movement do not learn afresh to encourage women's participation and simply keep women attached to them as either instruments for their own amusement or status, then it means the number of active militants will be reduced and the struggle will be hindered. When women come into the movement, the attitudes some of them have about themselves which might be incorrect must not be used to justify keeping them as a supporter's club. What Freire calls "cultural action", anti-colonial education that is needed to change these attitudes. At all times women will constitute about half the population and if they are politicised, activated and developed into leaders and cadres, their influence both in the rear base areas outside and inside the movement in Azania will carry the day. If we accept the concept that culture influences politics and economics, then we must set ourselves the task of creating a culture which frees the mind and encourages rebellion against oppression, culture which builds our nation-hood and re-establishes our dignity.

Practical tasks of women

We must prepare and participate fully both militarily and politically to map up our struggle. We must see to it that we are as efficient with a gun as our male comrades are. The cultural stereotype of the male being the protector and the woman the protected must be eradicated. We must be able to fight for and protect each other, with certain services despite practical limitation. There is, apart from the general need to record our struggle, also a need to write for our children. The diseases of the mind of the western capitalist, colonialist culture should not enter their minds. Stories should be written with the cultural image of the African

person rather than some Mickey Mouse drivel and Tarzan & Jane, which teaches them to hate themselves. Also we must at all times, point to the nature of the women's position in our struggle as opposed to that of women in the bourgeois feminist movement of the West. The feminist movement is by its very nature petit bourgeois and reformist. It originates from liberal dissatisfaction of the white intellectual woman with such things as unequal pay, discrimination in the work place etc. It thus seeks reforms within the bounds of capitalism. We the women of Azania in particular and women in other Third World struggles demand the total overthrow of exploitative colonial society. Our fight is alongside our men against the system not against them.

Finally, the regard we have for our women in the struggle is illustrated by the following poem:

Our mothers are weeping
their wailing is spiralling
dissolving into the sky roofing
roofing the open graves
of their sons and daughters
tortured!

Slashed!

Shot!

Our mothers are crying
moist rivulets of despair
are running down the folds
of their dark skins
their sons and daughters
are imprisoned!

Beaten!

Hanged!

Our mothers with their empty eyes
and busy hands
through centuries of outrage
heard insults from white mouths

and sounds of gunfire and people dying
black souls felt the tremor
in their bodies
the cry in their blood
and
our mothers, robbed in hues of anger
are now shouting!
bring your blue eyed men of iron and fire
bring your batons! your dogs!
your armoured carriers!
your endless laws and jails!
bring your saracens! your hippos!
your sneeze machines!
your birdshot! and your stern guns!

BRING THEM

for we, the bearers of sons and daughters
and men and women
smothered in lives of misery
we are also
the bearers of
guns for the tyrants
stones for the uniformed dogs
songs for our little black angles
garlands for our million heroes, dead and alive
disgust for the cowards
and death for the murderers!

The successful resolution of our struggle will be one of the most momentous events in this era of imperialism and social-imperialism in that it will signal the final defeat of super-power competition in the region and national oppression by a white minority settler regime. Our task is therefore a very demanding one and we must undertake it with the seriousness and discipline it demands.

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In the middle of the picture above is the Chief Coordinator of the P.A.C. Women, Comrade Maud Jackson, talking to her friends in the Philippines. On her left is Sister Sol and on the extreme right is Mrs. Remmy Rikken both of Philippines. Comrade Maud Jackson had been invited to take part in the Women's International Cross Cultural Exchange organised by Isis. The theme of the exchange was "Women in Communication". But before going to the Philippines Comrade Jackson had to go to West Germany first. She had been invited by the Third World Action Group to address the group on P.A.C. in general and on the role of the Azanian women in the Azanian revolution in particular. Because of this West Germany invitation, the Chief Coordinator had to leave Dar es Salaam in September 1984. The audience was so receptive to her address that the Group donated 7 sewing machines to the women's desk of the P.A.C. This Group, the Third World Action Group, has also informed the P.A.C. women that the Group has decided to send them 6 type-writers on top of the 7 sewing machines. Comrade Jackson's visit to West Germany was arranged by Mrs. Elizabeth Malocho and members of the West Germany Volunteer Service based in Dar es Salaam, United Republic of Tanzania. From West Germany she flew to Geneva where she stayed for one month. She says in Geneva she met other women from the Third World particularly from Latin America. She was surprised to find that in many other countries, independent countries of the Third World women are complaining of discrimination they suffer at the hands of their own male counterparts; the very injustices the Azanian women suffer at the hands of the Boers of racist South Africa. At the end of October she flew to the Philippines. She was supposed to be in the Philippines from the 1 November

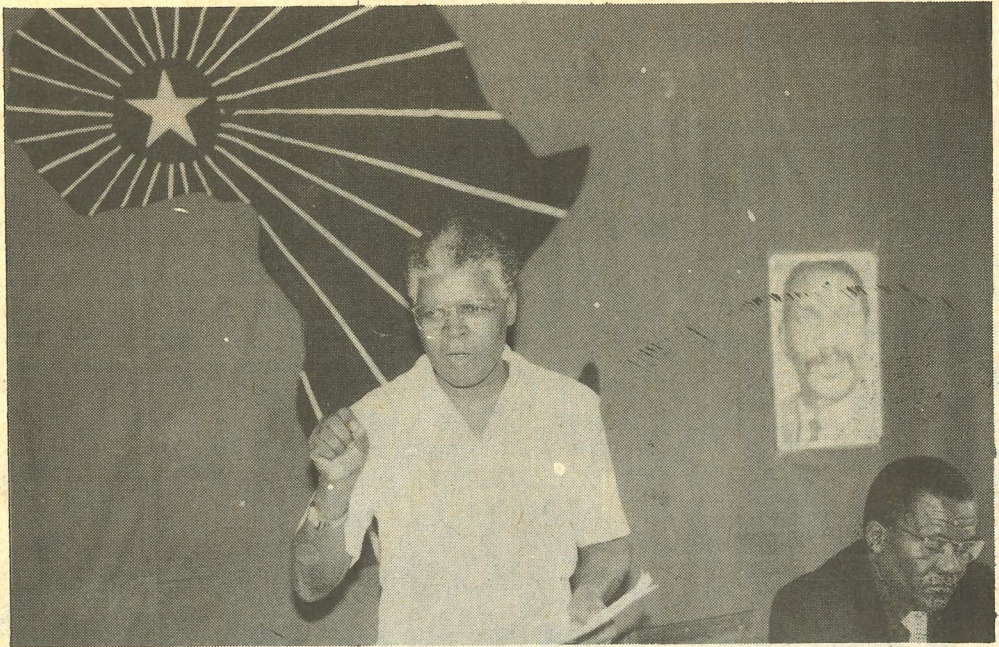
1984 to February 1985. While she was in the Philippines, in December 1984 to be specific, she met a Japanese theatre group called the Black Tent Theatre. This group reported to the Japanese Anti-Apartheid groups that in the Philippines they met a dynamic P.A.C. woman. These Japanese Anti-Apartheid movements immediately extended invitations to her to come and address meetings to audiences in Japan. In 17 days she toured 17 different countries addressing 3 meetings a day. In short, in 17 days she addressed 51 meetings. On the 13 March 1985 she came back to Dar es Salaam where the PAC Head Office is.



From left to right: Comrade Maud Jackson, Chief Coordinator of PAC Women and Elizabeth Rejoice Sibeko, Labour Liaison Officer and Coordinator of PAC Women in America. Seen at the back is Comrade Joyce Sifuba, Deputy Chief Coordinator of PAC Women. They were all at the international Conference on Women and Children under Apartheid held in Arusha, Tanzania, from the 7- 10 May 1985.



This is the tombstone of the founding President of P.A.C., Robert Mangaliso Sobukwe. It was unveiled on the 15 July 1982 in the dusty town called Graaf Reinet. Rest in peace! We greatly miss you at this stage of our revolution.



Standing: Comrade John Nyati Pokela, PAC Chairman. Seated: Joe Mkwana, PAC Administrative Secretary.

25TH ANNIVERSARY OF SHARPEVILLE MASSACRE:

SPEECH BY P.A.C. CHAIRMAN

Comrade Chairman

On behalf of the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania, the custodian of the genuine aspirations of the oppressed, exploited, discriminated against and dispossessed people of Azania (the African name for apartheid South Africa), allow me to convey to the Special Committee Against Apartheid the sincere gratitude of our people for annually observing March 21st as the International Day for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination. The annual observance by the Special Committee Against Apartheid has contributed to focusing international attention to the plight of our people and the legitimacy of our struggle for national liberation and self-determination.

Comrade Chairman, our dispossessed people have a long and proud history of struggle. However, during that long and proud struggle some struggles and dates have developed as milestones in the annals of the just liberation struggle and one such date is March 21st. Kindly allow me at this stage to inform this august gathering as to how this date was

arrived at. At the conference of the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania in December 1959 it was unanimously decided to launch the DECISIVE FINAL, POSITIVE ACTION AGAINST THE PASS LAWS and the First President of the PAC of Azania, Comrade Mangaliso Robert Sobukwe, was mandated to announce the date of the launching of this campaign. It was he who chose and announced March 21, 1960 as the day of reckoning!

Moreover, many objective observers of our just struggle will note that prior to the PAC-pass campaigns. Equally, honest observers will concede that the PAC-led March 21, 1960 DECISIVE, FINAL, POSITIVE ACTION AGAINST THE PASS LAWS was qualitatively and quantitatively different from the past anti-pass campaigns. And what were the principal differences?

First and foremost, it was not a mere protest campaign. The slogan under which the PAC leadership launched the March 21, 1960 campaign was 'NO DEFENCE, NO BAIL AND NO FINE'. This slogan itself reflected a new political approach and attitude it reflected a conscious and principled rejection of the fascist-colonial status-quo in apartheid South Africa. Comrade Chairman, Comrade Mangaliso Robert Sobukwe, the Founder President of the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania, was the first African political leader in modern times to tell the oppressors that the dispossessed people of Azania DID NOT RECOGNISE THE STATUS QUO and, therefore, would offer no defence and pay no fine. In essence, therefore, the March 21, 1960 PAC-led anti-pass campaign was not a mere protest campaign ... but one that unequivocally CHALLENGED the fascist-colonial status-quo in occupied Azania. It was, moreover this new and principled element that terrified the racist regime and drove it to characteristically resort to reactionary violence.

Comrade Chairman, the epicentre of the reactionary violence on the part of the minority regime was against the defenceless men, women and children of Sharpeville. The international community was stunned when the trigger-happy fascist troops of the racist regime shot dead 69 men, women and children and maimed and wounded 189 at Sharpeville. Sharpeville, a staunch PAC fortress, did not only overnight become a symbol of resistance in the international political parlance, but a watershed in the struggle of the oppressed, exploited and dispossessed people of Azania.

The events of March 21, 1960 radically changed the nature of our struggle. It ushered in a new era, the era of armed struggle. The Sharpeville massacre starkly brought out the reality that non-violence as a principal method of struggle was misplaced in the South African context. The racist minority regime, like all oppressors, used violence to dispossess our people and has employed sophisticated state violence to maintain its dominant position.

Massacres, killings, tortures and even systematic genocide has been the declared policy of the fascist colonial regime in our country for the past 300 years, and intensified in the last three decades. The only effective answer to sustained reactionary violence is revolutionary violence by the vast majority against the oppression minority. Following the Sharpeville massacre, the President of the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania, Comrade Mangaliso Robert Sobukwe, declared: **'Until today we were prepared to die for our freedom, but henceforth we must be prepared to kill for it as well!'**

Comrade Chairman, it was the PAC sponsored and led March 21, 1960 that ushered in the era of armed struggle. Moreover, Pan Africanist Congress of Azania was the first national liberation movement to form a military wing which came to be known as POQO. The initial combatants of POQO were armed with home-made weapons, such as pangas and home-made bombs, and whatever arms they could capture from the enemy. Academician Tom Lodge, writing in the RAND DAILY MAIL of February 8, 1984, acknowledged that the most sustained and widespread armed struggle in modern times was carried out by PAC/POQO. It is also documented that over 120 POQO militants were executed by the racist regime between 1961 and 1967. Today POQO has been transformed into the Azanian People's Liberation Army (APLA) and determined to intensify the armed struggle internally under the political leadership.

Comrade Chairman, today marks the 25th anniversary of the Sharpeville Massacre. Internally our people and the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania will observe this important day with specific emphasis on rededicating ourselves to realise, in our life-time, the total liberation of Azania from fascist colonialism and reaffirming that apartheid can neither be reformed nor in any way accommodated ... it must be totally destroyed and completely eradicated. Moreover, we remain committed that armed struggle,

with the full participation of the people, must be the principal form of struggle.

Whilst our determined and heroic people firmly believe that we are our own liberators, we do value and solicit principled support from the international community. It is indeed encouraging and gratifying to our struggling people and the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania to the support concretely expressed and given by the peoples and governments of various countries, including your own Comrade Chairman, the Federal Republic of Nigeria. However, we are obliged to restate here that policies pursued by some Western Countries, in particular the Reagan Administration of the United States, are, in essence, directed towards protecting and strengthening the illegal racist minority regime despite official attempts to sell such policies as 'constructive' moves towards eliminating apartheid. The PAC unequivocally condemns the 'constructive engagement' policy of the Reagan Administration.

Comrade Chairman, the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania wishes to reiterate its declared position as regards the role of the international community towards our struggle. If the international community is serious in its call for a relatively peaceful solution to the liberation struggle in apartheid South Africa, then it must immediately impose comprehensive and mandatory military and economic sanctions against the Pretoria regime. It must not be duped by the apologists of the racist regime that such sanctions would hurt the oppressed most. As I speak to you now, the oppressed, exploited and dispossessed people of Azania are being daily butchered by the reactionary military forces of the racist regime. This morning alone 16 Azanian compatriots were killed in cold blood at Uitenhage for commemorating the 25th anniversary of the Sharpeville massacre. By the end of the day this number is bound to rise because the people throughout are observing this day and western media has confirmed that the situation inside occupied Azania 'is tense'. Such blatant killings are going on despite the 'constructive engagement' policy of the Reagan Administration and the increased western investments in our country. Both the 'constructive engagement' policy and continued investments in apartheid South Africa have had the effect of 'constructively encouraging' the racist rulers of South Africa to intensify their oppression and exploitation of Azanians.

Furthermore, no oppressor in history willfully abdicated and would be politically naive for us to believe that South Africa is an exception! Consequently, we call upon the international community to either immediately impose comprehensive and mandatory economic and military sanctions against the illegal Pretoria regime or fully support the just struggle of the dispossessed Azanian masses, including the principal form of struggle ... the armed struggle.

Comrade Chairman, the past 25 years has enriched our people, both in experience and understanding. From Sharpeville to Soweto to Sebokeng our people have developed politically, have increased their fighting capacity and have mobilised themselves as never before around the principal issue of repossession of the usurped fatherland. We of the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania are proud that we played a positive role in this awakening and politicisation ... but we are even more proud that our people have entrusted us the noble task of playing the pioneering role in the liberation of our country. That important appointment with history we are determined to keep!

THE BIG GUNS OF THE P.A.C. WOMEN



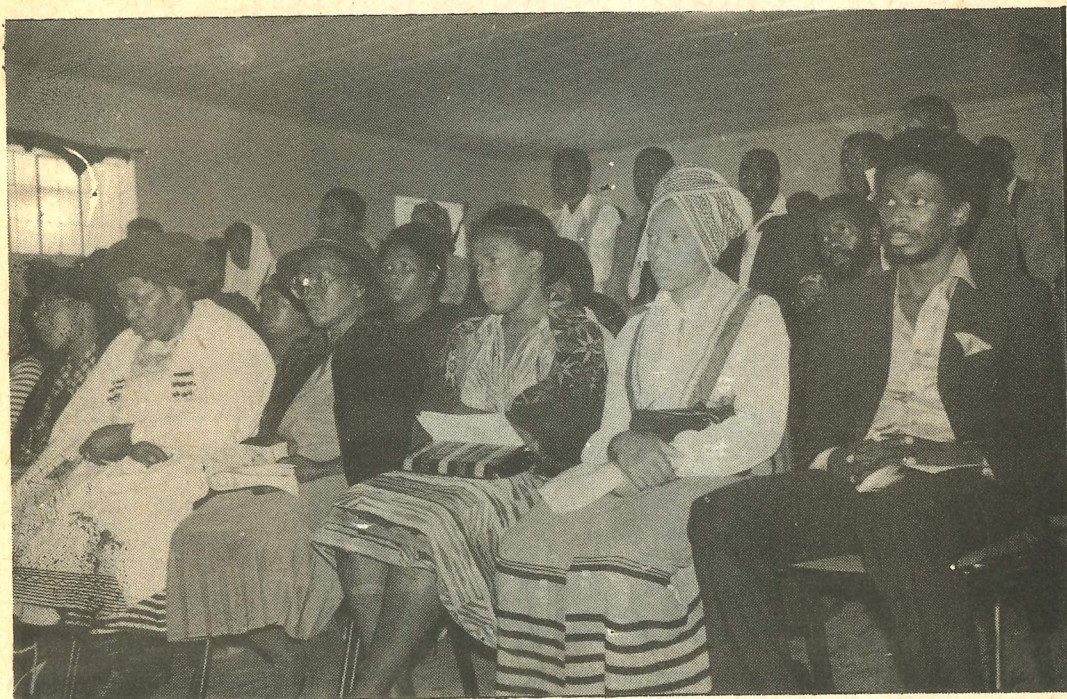
Above is Comrade Maud Jackson, the Chief Coordinator of P.A.C. women. Comrade Maud Jackson was born at Langa Location in Cape Town. In 1959 she left racist South Africa for Tanzania and as the time went on she came into contact with PAC and joined her. In July 1983 she was appointed Coordinator of all PAC women, inside and outside occupied Azania. This appointment was made while she was outside Tanzania touring European and Asian countries.



This daughter of Africa is Comrade Joyce Sifuba who is Deputy Chief Coordinator of the Azanian and PAC women. She was born in Johannesburg in Azania but committed herself to PAC while she was a student in Swaziland in 1964. In 1978 her husband was declared a prohibited immigrant in that country because of his political activities. Joyce left with him to Denmark where they were given a refugee status. In 1981 they moved to Tanzania where she became Chief Coordinator of PAC women. In 1984 she moved to Zimbabwe and is now Deputy Coordinator of the PAC and Azanian women.



These Women came all the way from Azania to Maseru, Lesotho, to bury their children and relatives, the fallen martyrs, the Oacha's Nek 6. These fallen PAC martyrs were buried on the 30 March 1985. Rest in peace brave Comrades.



Despite this calamity, the death of the Qacha's these Azanian women still show a face of valour and confidence. Their sons and their daughter did not die in disgrace; they died for the finest cause, the liberation of Mankind.

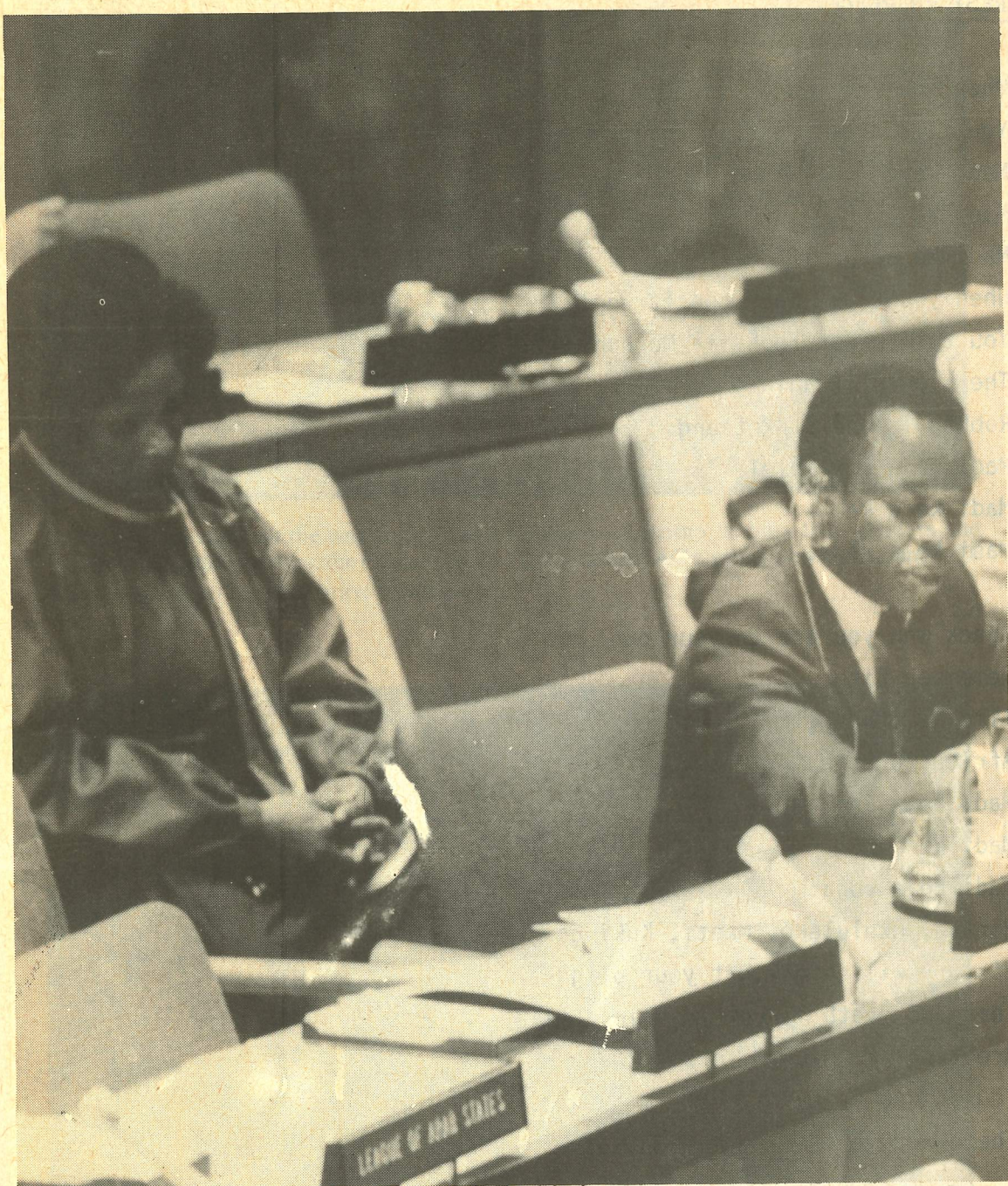
This poem is dedicated to the six comrades who were killed at Qacha's Nek in Lesotho on the 10th March, 1985.

REST IN PEACE

When you talk about freedom
You talk about Pokela the leader of P.A.C.
Madi ke a Thami Zani!
Madi ke aka
Madi ke arona.
When you talk about the struggle
You talk about Zephania Mothupeng
The Lion of Azania
Robben Island o nketsang
Madi ke a Siyabulela
Madi ke a ka
Madi ke a rona.

Black man you are on your own
Remember Biko
Tiro ba tshwarele
Africa for the Africans.
Madi ke a Boniswa
Madi ke a ka
Madi ke a rona.
Harare, Nkululeko, Mketi, Kuki Barnabas,
History will highlight your plight,
For your death is not in vain.
Greetings to Mangaliso Sobukwe
Your blood is our blood
The struggle continues.

By Motshabi Moleko



From left to right are Comrade Elizabeth Rejoice Sibeko, the Coordinator of P.A.C. Women in America and also a Labour Liaison Officer in the same country; and Comrade Lesoana Makanda, the P.A.C. Deputy Permanent Observer at the United Nations. Both are doing a very wonderful work for P.A.C. at the United Nations. Forward ever fellow Compatriots! Backwards Never!



This Comrade Tshidi Muendane, a qualified Social Worker in the P.A.C. Department of Social Welfare. she also comes from Soweto. She left racist South Africa in 1976.



This is Comrade Diana Thamage, qualified journalist with the P.A.C. Dept. of Publicity & Information. she comes from Orlando West in Johannesburg. She left racist South Africa in 1977.



This is Comrade Thobile Moremi, a student nurse. she comes from Soweto. She left her home, racist South Africa in 1976. She eats, sleeps and dreams P.A.C.



This is Comrade Lina Masango. She comes from Soweto. She left racist South Africa in 1976. She is now in a pensive mood, thinking about the Azania revolution.



**PAC STATEMENT TO THE SUB-REGIONAL WORKSHOP/STUDY TOUR
ON STRATEGIES FOR EFFECTIVE PARTICIPATION OF WOMEN IN
AGRICULTURE AND RURAL DEVELOPMENT, 3-8 DECEMBER, 1984**

NAIROBI - KENYA

BY

MS NOMVO BOOI

On behalf of the exploited and oppressed people of Azania, the Chairman of the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania, Comrade Nyati Pokela, The PAC Central Committee and the Women's Section I wish to thank the Government of Kenya and her people for hosting this Workshop/Study Tour. We further wish to thank MULPOC Women's Programme and ECA/ATRCW for organising and sponsoring this workshop. The indigenous people of Azania take pride and draw inspiration from independent people of Kenya, who have always identified themselves with the liberation of man from all forms of oppression and exploitation. There can be no clearer expression of solidarity with the tortured people of Azania than hosting a conscience exercise on the plight of women in the Eastern and Southern African Region.

We, the Black women of Azania, have always fought alongside our menfolk. In the olden days during the long resistance against European invasion, the house defenders, the last bastion of the defenders had always been manned by the old women, young mothers and girls. Many glorious acts of

courage have been recorded in our history of these episodes.

There have always been women warrior rulers and counsellors of note in our history and today the nature of our struggle has proved beyond any shadow of doubt that there can never be any National Movement without women participating on equal terms with their menfolk.

But there has always been the other side of the story. Women have always been subjected to the roles of drawers of water, thrashers and grinders of grain. In addition they have always been an important factor in cultivation and the basic industry of domestic implements, apparel and ornaments. The division of labour has always been on a parity basis and the remnants of this order still exists.

Since the PAC of Azania launched the Positive Action Campaign, a heightening status campaign of confrontation with the settler oppressors of the 21st March, 1960 since declared the International Human Right Day, the women of Azania have been recruited into all the fighting ranks of the national resistance without bias. And all the privations and violence unleashed on freedom fighters by the white murderers have fallen equally on women. Women are jailed, are killed and have buried their brave sons and daughters, and are also in the front ranks fighting alongside their menfolk.

The PAC is born of the illiterate and semi-literate people of Azania, who live under abject conditions peculiar only to slaves. The PAC articulates solely on the needs of those people, it provides guidance to their war of liberation, materially ill-equipped and unarmed as they are. All our submissions to the progressive world to the conscience of man, in international forums reflect the inadequacies that have been forced on us by force of arms. The dispossessed people are not yet defeated, they are warriors, both men and women alike. They are growing steadily and in the process shall assert their rights in the land of their fathers. They need the help of the international community and this help must answer specific needs. The areas of active confrontation, at the rear, and in exile where they have the opportunity, under human conditions to acquire the benefits of training in basic skills, general enlightenment and of exposure to the attributes of normal human growth and development.

Madam Chairperson allow my delegation to mention that PAC has presented proposals to MULPOC on previous meetings and as yet no response has come forward. We want to put it on record that a particular bias was displayed in funding proposals as it appears that other Liberation Movements have received backing. We wish to appeal to the ECA/ATRCW and MULPOC to consider our proposals initially tabled at the 2nd MULPOC meeting in Lesotho in 1980, where our draft proposals were initially tabled and to subsequent programmes where we were excluded. Reference is made to the following conference document:

ECA/MULPOC/Lusaka 155, (ii)

ECA/MULPOC/Lusaka 155, (iii)

Madame Chairperson, it would be unfair not to record our thanks to ATRCW and MULPOC for providing us with a leadership course in Kenya 1979 and the exclusive opportunity of having attended a nutrition course in Lusaka 1980. The value of these discussions is reflected in the present activities of the Women's section of the PAC at external mission.

The PAC women's programmes possess a structure which has a Chief Coordinator based at the External Headquarters in Tanzania. Amongst one of its duties the programme coordinates with all the organisation's departments in order to ensure the participation of women in all development processes.

Madam Chairperson, allow my delegation to state that our region's fertile lands stretch through a diversity of climatic zones. We can develop the extensive cultivation of a large variety of agricultural products and become self-sufficient in this area. Therefore any development strategies worked out to improve the lives of our people in the region should take cognisance of the fact that the material basis of such a change is readily available moreover a high percentage of the population lives on agricultural production. This is also mostly a sector that still needs development. It is also mostly women in rural areas who have to create the agricultural surplus needed to create a system of food reserves which is so necessary for agricultural development.

Background of the Project

The number of PAC followers entering Tanzania has increased considerably over recent years.

Support for the organisation has come to a considerable degree from generous contributions by the Tanzanian Government, UNDP and benevolent countries and institutions. PAC has recognised, however that self-reliance is to be urgently encouraged in order to reduce the growing strain on the budget of the host country. In active support of the PAC plans, the Government of Tanzania has provided us with 400 ha in Masunguri/Kitonga, Bagamoyo District. The soils are medium black clays with varying degrees of sand, they are moderately fertile and a wide range of crops are growing.

Development Objectives:

The broad objective of the project is to assist the PAC to initiate a farm development programme for the 400 ha site at Masunguri/Kitonga in Bagamoyo District, where a self-contained settlement is established for PAC members in Tanzania. In this development the acquisition of experience in agriculture farm operations will enable PAC members to be an asset to themselves and their country, when they return to it. It has to be emphasised here that women comprise a quarter of the camp population and they fully participate in these programmes.

Immediate Objectives:

1. To assist the PAC to develop an agricultural farm at the Kitonga site in order to be self-sufficient in food production.
2. To provide fellowships which will allow training of selected PAC students in crop production, livestock production, farm management, general agriculture and mechanisation.

3. To provide on the job training as a continuing exercise to be additional practical training through demonstrations, field days or short courses for farm management, crop production, aspects of mechanisation including care for tractors and implements.
4. To purchase vehicles, agricultural equipment, livestock inputs, material inputs operation and maintenance which are all necessary to be used in the continued development of the farm.

Activities of the Project:

1. Crops: During year one we have experimented with a variety of crops and the most successful was some species of grain (rice).
2. We have now embarked on a full scale production of rice which we hope will satisfy the needs of our community in Tanzania and also various types of vegetable, cassava, pumpkin and vegetables which will also add to the diet of the community.
3. Livestock: We are in the process of constructing poultry shacks for chickens, turkeys and ducks. Other activities such as animal husbandry also have a potential. However, these will be introduced as the project unfolds.
4. Fellowships: Arranging fellowships and placement for selected PAC students to study in the different areas of agriculture to facilitate PAC management.

Methods of Implementation and Evaluation:

The PAC has created a Project Coordination Committee headed by a senior officer designated as the Project Coordinator. This committee is responsible to the Department of Economic Affairs for the implementation, monitoring and achievement of the projects intended outputs. The Project Coordinator will coordinate and liaise with the field office at the site.

The department of Economic Affairs has an agriculturist with experience who is at present the Farm Manager, he is supported by an assistant who helps with project activities until fellowship holders have returned from studies.

A detailed work plan for the implementation of the project is prepared by the PAC Projects Coordinating Committee in consultation with the FAO Field Officer. International staff and FAO consultants also assist in producing indicated outputs and achieving the projects objectives.

The Project is subject to evaluation in accordance with the policies and procedures of the PAC and funding bodies. As in depth evaluation will be undertaken midway through the duration of the project and also on its completion. Monitoring reviews and technical reviews will also take place. Progress and terminal reports will be submitted by the Projects Coordinating Committee.

This project is a national plan as it prepares our community to prepare for a future liberated Azania and also interlinked with all the other PAC projects at our Multinational Centre.

Future Plans:

The project will expand as the site is planned to cater for 3,000 inhabitants. This expansion includes enlarging all the activities already stated and planning for additional aspects.

Constraints:

1. Lack of domestic water supply.
2. Lack of accessibility to the site.
3. Need for an 8 km perimeter fence to keep out wild animals.
4. Lack of experienced agricultural experts.
5. Obtaining additional assistance to add to the funding that we already have. However some pledges have been made.

In conclusion 30 PAC women attended a FAO sponsored workshop on "Nutrition Child Care and Group Feeding" to train women in these very vital areas which relate to our policy of integrating women in Rural Development and Agriculture.

I have to express deep felt thanks to ECA/ATRCW and MULPOC for all the assistance given to our women in our sub-region and our thanks also go to all the participants for sharing their ideas with us.

Thank you.



1. From left to right. Ms B. Mamwaja ECA Rep in Zambia.

2. Nomvo Booi P.A.C. Central Committee Member.

3. Ms Ruth Njorog of Mulpoe.

They are all seen enjoying cups of tea during recess at the Women's Indaba in Nairobi Kenya.

CONCORD WEEKLY

Interviewer: G. Godwin Oyewole
Director, WDCU FM

Guest Interviewed: Congressman Walter E. Fauntroy
(District of Columbia, Democrat)

Date: March 13, 1985

Q: Not too long ago, a bill called the Anti-Apartheid Act of 1985, which you helped shape, was introduced in the US House of Representatives. For the benefit of those who are not familiar with the American system of government, please tell us what needs to be done before this bill can become the law of the United States.

A: First, let me inform you that the bill was introduced by a bipartisan coalition of Democrats and Republicans in both the House and the Senate. In the House we have 435 members, with each member representing about 500,000 citizens of the United States. In the Senate we have 100 members. That is, two members from each of the 50 states that make up the United States. If by a majority vote, that is at least 218, the House approves the bill it will then be submitted to the Senate. A simple majority vote of the Senate, at least 51, will constitute passage by the Senate. If there are differences in the version passed by the House and the one passed by the Senate, then there would be a conference between the two legislative bodies to reach an agreement. If an agreement is reached, the version agreed upon would be returned to the full House and the Senate for passage. If passed by both chambers, it would then be sent to the White House for signature by the President. If signed by the President, it would become the law of the US. If not signed, that would constitute a veto. Once it is vetoed, it can only become the law only if at least two out of every three members of the House and two out of every three members of the Senate vote to override the President's veto.

Q: In the last few months, if there is any doubts in the minds of anyone that black Americans really care about the plight of black people in Africa, that doubt must have been removed by now. But what is the reason for this sudden realization by black Americans that they ought to be concerned about the plight of their brothers and sisters in Africa, especially those in Southern Africa?

A: In the first instance, the struggle by black Americans for the rights of their brothers and sisters in Africa did not begin just recently, and definitely not with the Free South Africa Movement which is the organization responsible for the continuing nationwide demonstrations against the South African government. Such struggle has been going on for decades, and indeed for centuries. Some of our most famous black Americans have been advocates of the rights of our brothers and sisters on the continent. Whether you are talking about Frederick Douglas in the 19th century, or W.E.B. Dubois in the 20th century, or Malcolm X and Martin Luther King, Jr. in recent decades, we have strongly fought for the rights of our brothers and sisters on the continent of Africa. But as apartheid has been intensified over the last two decades, black Americans have expressed their concerns over the cooperation of the US government with apartheid - **an evil system of social segregation and political domination for the purpose of economic exploitation.** In more recent times, the opposition to apartheid South Africa has been raised to the level of Congressional representation by the Congressional Black Caucus. For the past five years, we have advocated what we have called the "Gray Amendment" - A measure that will ban all new investments by US banks, firms, and individuals in South Africa. Although that Amendment was introduced five years ago by black Congressman William Gray, a Democrat from Pennsylvania, it became one of the first steps that were called for in the 20th Anniversary March on Washington on August 27, 1983, for jobs, peace, and freedom, when 500,000 people gathered here in Washington, D.C. to celebrate Martin Luther King, Jr's march at which he delivered his celebrated "I Have A Dream" speech. In 1983, we demanded the passage of the Gray Amendment. The Amendment was passed in the

House, but when it got to the Senate, a chamber controlled by the Republicans and thus loyal to President Reagan in most instances, they rejected the House-passed measure, and it failed as a result. One of the reasons it failed in the Senate was because the Reagan administration said it was pursuing a policy of "constructive engagement" with the South African government.

Q: One of the goals of the Anti-Apartheid Act of 1985 is something called the "Tutu Principle". What is that?

A: That's right. Nobel Peace Prize winner Bishop Desmond Tutu, the Episcopal Bishop of Johannesburg has suggested that the US must give South Africa a certain time beyond which if the South Africa government does not act, the US should impose sanctions on an increasingly severe basis. The Anti-Apartheid Act of 1985 would implement that principle by providing that unless South Africa meets seven certain conditions, the US would prevent new investments by American firms and individuals in South Africa, and would also ban the sale of Krugerrands in the US. Those seven conditions include the release of all political prisoners, entering into good faith negotiations with the released prisoners and legitimate black leaders in South Africa, and working towards a new constitution that would eliminate apartheid. As South Africa fulfils those seven conditions, the US would lift the sanctions for a period of one year, and if South Africa does not make further efforts to end apartheid, the sanctions would be resumed. The bill itself is based on the thesis that apartheid is a labour-control system. It is based on cheap labour and foreign investments. The average return on investment (ROI) by an American firm in mining in South Africa is 25%, while the average ROI worldwide in mining is only 13.7%. Also the average ROI in factories in South Africa is 18.7%, while the worldwide average is about 12.6%. The average is high in South Africa only because of the existence of a slave labour market by which black people are required to work in the mines at an average of about \$ 175 a month, and in the factories at an average

of about \$ 302 a month. Thus, in order to have an impact, we have sought in the bill to cut off foreign investments unless there is an end to apartheid. And if they don't respond after we have banned new investments by American firms and individuals in South Africa, and banned the sale of Krugerrands in the US, we would then be forced to move to a deeper level of sanctions, and we may even ask for the termination of American investments that have already been made in South Africa.

Q: It has often been argued that the withdrawal of American investments in South Africa would hurt black South Africans more than any other group in South Africa.

A: That is a ludicrous argument. It is like saying that we cannot end slavery because if we do the freed slaves would become unemployed. The fact is that only a few blacks in South Africa would be affected. At best, American firms employ only about 1% of the work force in South Africa. I am not convinced that this 1% who benefit from working for American companies would not want to make a sacrifice for the sake of their own people. They are just not that selfish. That argument holds no water, and it ought to be rejected out right.

Q: It has also been argued that if American investments in South Africa is curtailed or banned outright, other nations would step in to fill the void, and that might hurt the American economy as a whole.

A: That in fact is true, and that is why the Anti-Apartheid Act of 1985, as introduced in the House, calls for the President of the United States to enter into negotiations with other countries to do just as we are doing. As a first step, to ban new investments from their countries in South Africa. That provision of the bill is actually a modification of a bill which I had introduced a few weeks before, which would have said to American firms that if they, out of good conscience, or forced by law, to withdraw from South Africa, the US government would protect that by making sure that

any non-American company that moves in to take advantage of the South African cheap labour market would not be allowed to sell its goods or services in the US. That, to me, seems to be the most direct way to try to protect us from the greed and opportunism of investors from other parts of the world faced with a choice between investing in their own countries at higher wage levels, or investing in South Africa, would invest in South Africa. This is a world-wide problem, and if the Anti-Apartheid Act of 1985 becomes the law in the US, America would be exerting a leadership role in an effort to bring an effort to bring an end to apartheid.

Q: You, other black American leaders, and several other progressive people in the US are advocating sanctions against South Africa for not responding to demands that apartheid be ended. The Reagan administration, on the other hand, advocates quiet diplomacy otherwise known as "constructive engagement".

A: First, let me tell you that I honestly feel that "constructive engagement" is inadequate. After more than four years of "constructive engagement", no progress has been made towards ending apartheid in South Africa. Instead of progress, things have taken a turn for the worst. South Africa has become repressive in its enforcement of the laws of apartheid. South Africa has used American aid to intensify its military attacks not only upon South African freedom fighters, but also upon neighbouring countries such as Mozambique, Angola, Zambia, and Lesotho. In addition, it has not led to any progress on the question of Namibia which was purportedly one of the goals of "constructive engagement". It has not led to the provisions of more rights to the black people of South Africa. Even the supposed constitutional change in South Africa was nothing but a charade, to the extent that it did not provide for representation of black people. Under "constructive engagement", South Africa has increased its displacement policies. We are urging this administration that another form of persuasion is needed.

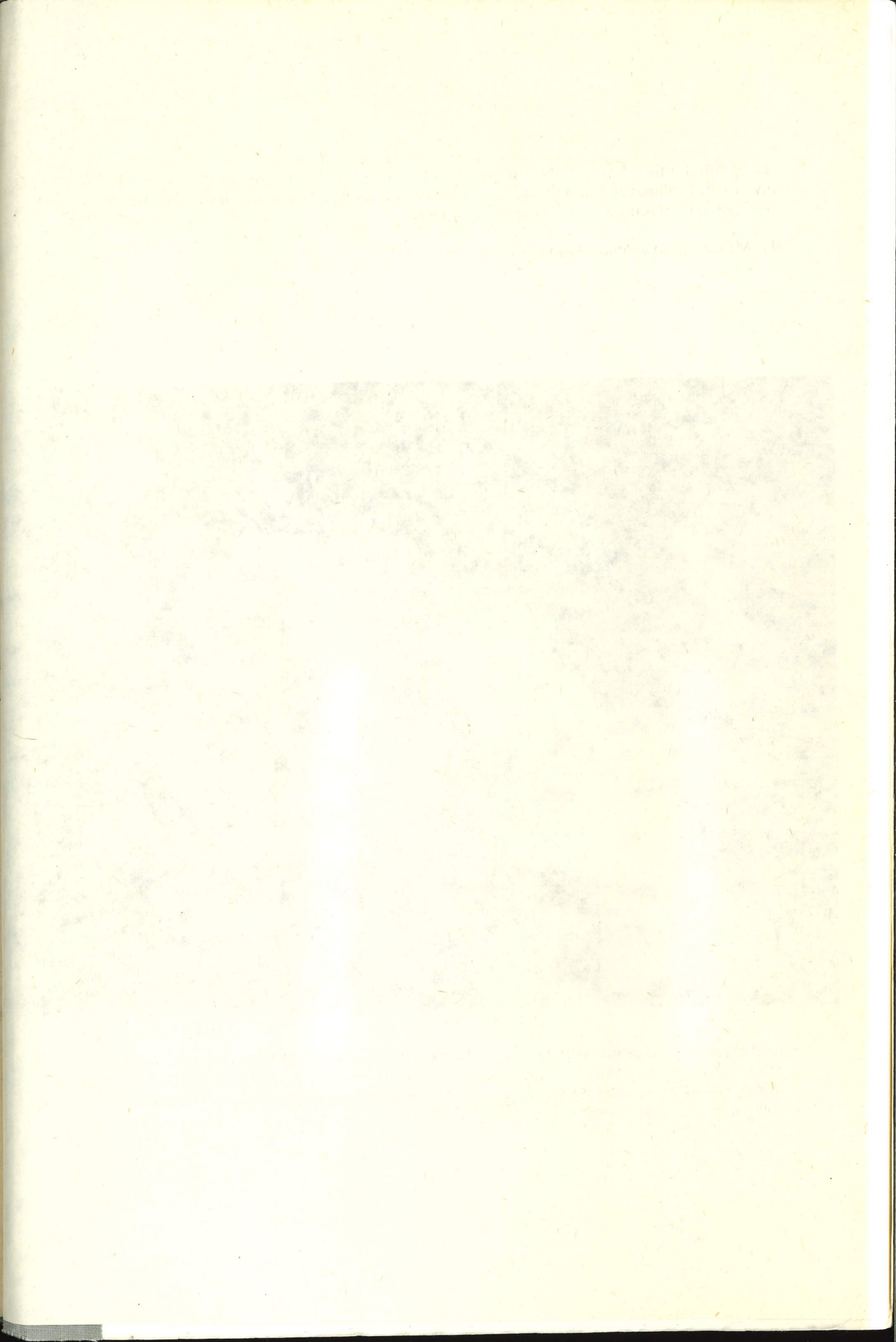
That is why many people in the US support black American leaders and the Free South America Movement in our efforts to prohibit new investments in South Africa, and thus turn on the heat on those who have been profitting from the exploitation of black South Africa through apartheid - a system of social segregation and political domination for the sole purpose of economic exploitation

Q: Listening to you, one gets the impression that you subscribe to the idea that black people all over the world have a common destiny.

A: Indeed, I do. As I talk to you, I am preparing for a national conference of American black leadership to examine the future of black people. One of the things we have resolved to do in black America is contained in Rule 12 of our plan - support Mother Africa and the Caribbean nations. As a result of that resolve, I can now tell you that black America would announce in the next few weeks the fact that we are going to address the problems of drought and famine in Africa. Not only by raising money to provide food and emergency supplies for those now facing starvation, but also by raising funds to provide irrigation, health care, and well-digging in the affected areas of Africa through our own efforts. The funds will be raised for, and through, Africare - a black American development and aid organization based here in Washington D.C.



These Azanian women braved the insolence of the Boers and converged on Maseru to bury the Qacha's Nek 6, on the 30 March 1985. Some of them were turned back at the border gates by the insolent Boer police. But the struggle continues.



"I will fight for the ideals and the programmes of the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania until I go into my grave. I will never quit politics. If I cannot defend my beliefs and principles who else can do it for me? There is no retirement in revolutionary politics"

By: Mfanasekhaya Pearce Gqobose.



In the right is Comrade Mfanasekhaya Pearce Gqobose. He is chatting with the Ambassador of Norway to Tanzania. Both have grey beards. Both were at the ECA Conference of O.A.U. Ministers in Addis Ababa, in April 1985. Mzee Gqobose is now 67 years old but he refuses to quit politics; he is still going strong. Read his story in August 1985.